

THE CRUTCHED FRIARS

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PART II—IN SCOTLAND

AN earlier paper gave a sketch of the Cruciferi in their Italian, Portuguese, Bohemian, Polish, and Flemish congregations, and mentioned the Irish Cruciferi and the Bethlehemites. With the exception of the last mentioned group they seem to have had little direct contact with Scotland, apart from the provision of Theodore Bloc¹ to the See of Sodor on 16th April, 1402. Alexander Myln² tells that Bishop George Browne refounded S. George's Hospital in Dunkeld in the opening years of the fifteenth century. In the rental of Dunkeld in the *Book of Assumptions* its occupants were described as "certane puir childer callit blew freris." While this may obviously be no more than a reference to the inmates' uniform, it would be difficult to produce a similar example of such usage elsewhere in Scotland: on the other hand, the Italian Cruciferi were the only order to wear a blue habit. Such grounds cannot support a conclusion, but the name may conceivably recall the early ties of the lapsed hospital.

Scanty signs may be found at S. Andrews and Hamilton. After the publication of Moir Bryce's *Scottish Grey Friars* there was traced a bull³ of Paul II of 1466, referring to a proposed foundation of Conventuals by Bishop Wardlaw, many years before the Observatine settlement, on a site which already had religious associations. "*Olim bone memorie Henricus Episcopus Sanctiandree propter singularem devotionem quam ad ordinem fratrum minorum gerebat tunc vicario Scotie ejusdem ordinis concessit quendum locum de Bethlehem nuncupatum in civitate Sanctiandree pro usu et habitatione fratrum ejusdem ordinis. . .*" Though Maitland Thomson appealed for the identification of "Bethlehem" no answer came. In 1369, Agnes FitzJohn⁴ bound herself to give one candle of a pound of wax yearly to the altar of S. Cross in Cadzow, for the land called S. Mary's land, lying between the land of S. Mary of Bethlehem and that which she held of the Earl of Mar. This land was held jointly from the two. Cosmo Innes⁵ held that this indicated a hospital in the lower part of the town, still

¹ *C.P.R. Letters*, v, 503.

² *S.H.S., Rentale Dunkeldense*, 312, 342.

³ *S.H.R.*, ix, 222.

⁴ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, 283

⁵ *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, i, 106.

existing in 1629. Such references merely raise questions ; the Order of Bethlehem, that congregation of the Cruciferi established in Scotland, may possibly have had some connection with these last two cases.

Their one definite foundation was at S. Germain's in East Lothian. The site is now occupied by an eighteenth century house and no remains are mentioned in the East Lothian Report of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments. Yet the house has a mediaeval core, and in the ground floor is a mediaeval apartment with a heavy quadripartite vault supported on walls formerly eight feet thick. Nearby is a dovecot, of early date in its lower stages. In the valley of the stream is heavy masonry, much overgrown, and close at hand are two ice houses. One has collapsed, but the other, strongly built of heavy rubble with mortar and pendant keystone, is nine feet in diameter and height, beehive shaped. Opposite its door is a low tunnel which has been penetrated to a depth of six or seven yards. Across the stream is an earthwork. Here stood a religious house, the character of which has long been uncertain. In the sixteenth century a traveller described it as the house of our Lady of Loretto—confusing the house of Nazareth with the house of Bethlehem—and at the close of the century the crown records speak of it as Templar lands . . . “the Templar lands of Tranent and Seton.” By way of Spottiswoode and Keith the error descended to Mackenzie Walcot and other writers of his school. In 1911, the true character of S. Germain's was indicated by Egerton Beck¹ and Dr. Wallace-James,² but the error persists. An example may be taken from Dempster. “*Eremita quidam Scotus imaginem Deiparae Virginis Lauretanae humeris suis in Scotiam, divina revelatione admonitus, deportavit et Musselburgi, quarto a regia Edinburgo lapide Villa Sancti Germani deposuit, ad quam toto regno atque etiam ex Anglia cerberimus piorum hominum concursus et solemnibus peregrinatio. Io. Leslaeus lib. ix. Hist. Scot. pag. 442 scripsit Revelationes suas Delata est ab eo imago an mdxxxi existimo hunc et Monachum et Ordinis Eremitanae D. Hieronymi, quod illo ordo Sancti Germani Coenobium haberet, viris doctis et sanctis celebre.*”

The Bethlehemites,³ “*Fratres Cruciferi cum Stella Bethlehemitica*,” were a congregation of Cruciferi, similar in origin and character in many respects to those already described, but quite distinct. Like the Bohemian Friars, they were under episcopal rule, having the Bishop of Bethlehem as their General, providing him with personal attendants and a chapter, as did the Canons of S. Selpuchre for the Bishop of Jerusalem. At Bethlehem was a monastery founded by Paula, a Roman matron, where with

¹ *P.S.A. Scot.*, xlv, 371 ff.

² *S.H.R.*, ix, 109-111.

³ *Helyot. Histoire des Ordres Religieux et Militaires*, iii, 355 ff.

her daughter and S. Jerome she lay buried. This was a double house of regular canons with a Prior and brothers and sisters obeying the Austin Rule and bearing the sign of the Cross on capes and mantles. Within their church Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, was crowned in 1101. Mindful of this and of the Nativity of our Lord he decided to erect a Bishopric of Bethlehem with its seat in their house. With consent of the chapter of Jerusalem he sent legates to Pascal II on this errand and Gibelin, Archbishop of Arles, on papal mandate appointed Aschetimus, Chancellor of Jerusalem, to the See, which received its endowments from the king in 1110. Its Bishop was a suffragan of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, but when the Patriarchate became merely a titular dignity, he became immediately subject to the Roman See.¹

The See had a strong appeal for Crusading Europe and received endowments not only in Palestine but in Europe. Most of its possessions were in Italy, but some were in France, Spain, Germany, and Britain. In 1168 William, Count of Nevers, a Crusader, left his body to be buried in the Church of the Bethlehemites and devoted to it a *Domus Dei* which he and his knights, together with the townsmen, had founded in 1147, in Clamecy. The charter reveals a developed social structure in marked contrast with that of the Scotland of that time. At Clamecy the Bishop and Chapter were to reside and be buried, should they be driven from the Holy Land. This ominous foreboding proved correct, and when the Church of Bethlehem fell a second time into the hands of the infidels its Bishop found sanctuary at Clamecy although some of his canons were in Palestine as late as 1284. At Clamecy the Latin succession of the Bishops of Bethlehem was maintained, being recruited mainly from the Mendicant Orders. They were provided by the Pope on presentation by the Count of Nevers and till the Revolution they exercised jurisdiction over the Hospital as part of the See of Bethlehem, a position not readily accepted by the Bishops of Auxerre.² In the Hospital at Clamecy were a Prior and brethren and sisters of the Order of Bethlehem (*Cruciferi cum Stella Bethlehemitica*) under the direct jurisdiction of the Bishop. The Order was formally brought to an end in 1555 when a secular chapter was erected and in 1635 the Bishop was described as "a Bishop without territory, diocese, teinds, people, clergy, or other rights, nor Bishop of the Hospital but merely of the Church of Bethlehem *in partibus infidelium*, to which pertained the Hospital of S. Mary of Bethlehem near Clamecy, immediately subject to the Holy See."

¹ *Gallia Christiana*, 2nd Ed., xii. *Instr. Col.*, 372.

² *Guy Coquille Histoire du Pays et Duché de Nivernais*. Paris, 1612. 92.
La France Pontificale. Paris, 1864. *Metropole de Sens*. Nevers, Bethlehem. 146.
Eubel. Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevii. Munster, 1898. 304.

Gradually but inevitably the Bishops had lost their possessions. What had been given in Crusading zeal would not willingly be given for the maintenance of a French prelate, remote and without responsibility or duties. The exemption from diocesan jurisdiction which the houses possessed ensured a measure of episcopal resentment and some indifference to the rights of a remote and ineffectual superior. The Order was small, and with the Saracen reconquest of the Holy Land both Bishop and Order had lost any real reason for existence. Henceforward it proved difficult to control the Order and by the end of the eighteenth century, when the Bishopric became extinct, almost all its possessions save the Hospital of Clamecy had passed, like S. Germain's, into other hands.

Various names were bestowed upon the Order; the "Order of Bethlehem," the "Order of S. Mary of Bethlehem," the "Order of S. Mary of the Star," and "Crossbearers with the Star." Thus they shared with the Cruciferi their name, their symbol, their origin and the Austin Rule. In the thirteenth century they had at least two houses in Great Britain, but they were at Pavia in the previous century and in the thirteenth they had at least a score of Hospitals in France and Italy.¹ Like the Gilbertines, the Order was a double one, but sisters were not attached to all the Hospitals. Their dress resembled that of the Dominicans but with a star of red and blue on the breast along with a red cross, a symbol which was to survive their Hospitals and with a wider significance.

The arrival of the Order in England was due to a visit by the Bishop of Bethlehem himself, Godfrey de Prefetti, in 1247, while on his way to Scotland as Papal Legate. His attempts to secure his rights met with some opposition. On 26th March, 1248, a papal mandate to the Bishop of Winchester² ordered Philip de Asceles, who held the church of Long Itchington, reserved to the Bishop Elect of Bethlehem, to restore the same and make satisfaction, or appear before the Pope within two months. He had beaten the Bishop's proctor who came to demand restitution, had broken two of his ribs, cut off his horse's tail, and tied his servant's horse to a stall. When the Dean of Wells endeavoured to proceed in the matter Philip secured his arrest by the King's bailiffs until he promised under caution of 200 marks not to prosecute the case any further. A papal mandate³ was issued in that year to the Prior of Holy Trinity at London, to compel certain collectors for the Church of Bethlehem, who detained alms collected for that church, to restore them to the Bishop or his envoy, and to prevent any interference with the Bishop's agents in England. Similarly, a relaxation of penance was granted to any who assisted the Church of Bethlehem.⁴

¹ *P.S.A. Scot. ut supra.*

² *C.P.R. Letters*, i, 243. ³ *Ibid.*, i, 247, 248. ⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 248.

Evidently Matthew Paris¹ was unaware of their London foundation, for there is a tone of novelty in his words when he records the arrival of the Bethlehemites at Cambridge in 1257. "A place of abode," he writes, "was granted to the Friars of Bethlehem at Cambridge in Trumpington Street. The habit of these Friars resembles that of the Preachers, but their cape bore on the breast the symbol of a red star, emitting five rays, in the midst of which was a circle of the colour of the sky, in memory of the star which appeared in Bethlehem at the birth of our Lord. So many orders of friars now made their appearance in England that there was a most extraordinary confusion between them."

In 1247 Simon FitzMary, Sheriff of London, made over his land west of Bishopsgate, to Godfrey, Bishop of Bethlehem, on condition that prayer be made for the founder's soul, and that the Bishop of Bethlehem and canons and messengers of that Church be received when in London. There was to be a Prior and Canons, with brethren and sisters of the Order of Bethlehem or of the Star. All were to be subject to the visitation and correction of the Bishop of Bethlehem. One mark was to be paid him at Easter in token of subjection and the sum was to be increased if wealth increased in the house. Members were to wear the sign of the Order, a star with five rays enclosing a circle of blue. A church or oratory was to be built. The contents were noted by John Chitterne and John Knighton when they visited the Hospital on 6th March, 1302. Certain endowments had been alienated, but they could make no exact discoveries as the neighbours refused to give evidence save before the Mayor and the King's Justices. There were no brothers or sisters wearing the habit, but only a Master wearing another habit.

In a few years the usual controversy arose with the parish church, but not till 1362 did the building of a chapel in honour of the Virgin make a formal agreement necessary. By this the master and brethren were permitted to complete the chapel, to have bells, to celebrate divine offices and receive offerings. They might bury in their churchyard those who so desired and receive oblations and obventions, saving that half those from parishioners of S. Botolph's were to go to the rector of that church. They complained² in 1361 that their rents were only 33/- annually, that they had lost many benefactors by pestilence, and that their buildings and trees had suffered by hurricanes. They therefore prayed for relaxation of ten years and ten quadragenes to benefactors who visited the Hospital at Christmas, Epiphany, and the five feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and their vigils, and who should lend a helping hand for ten years to

¹ *Chronica Majora*, v, 631.

² *C.P.R. Petitions*, i, 423.

restore the house. Proceeds of a collection¹ authorised by royal authority had fallen off badly after the plague of 1350.

A Guild² called the Fraternity of S. Mary of Bethlehem was founded in it in 1370, and reference is made to it by Urban VI on 29th December, 1388, when he took³ the house under his protection, noting that the seven works of mercy were carried out within it, and that those enrolled in its Fraternity had a relaxation of five years and five quarantines of enjoined penance. Ralph Bassett of Drayton left them £100 in 1389 to erect two chantries.

The Corporation of London had taken the house under their protection in 1346, and on the death of the Master, John de Nortone, the serjeant was ordered to take possession in the name of the city, but the order was rescinded as it had been let to Robert Aunsard, fishmonger, for a term of years. Such circumstances openly proclaim the decay of the Order and the remoteness of the Bishop. In 1381, when the king appointed William Welles as Master, the City disputed his right, but in the end lost their case.⁴

The Hospital was exempt from the Bishop of London's authority, but in March, 1403, it was visited by two of the King's clerks. They found that it was principally an asylum for the insane, and reported that there were six lunatics and three other persons resident. Their relatives contributed to their support. The house had some property but depended chiefly on voluntary offerings. Collections in England brought in about 40 marks annually, obventions reached 52/-, those on the great feasts brought a further 52/-; a box at the door and two carried about London brought similar amounts; offerings for the poor on the feast of Parascene amounted to 20/-; a collection in the diocese of London brought 4 marks annually, and there were gifts of ale, meat, fish, salt, and candles. The management of the Hospital belonged to the office of Porter and Peter Taverner, who held it for life, had abused it. He played at dice and sold ale. He rendered no accounts and had appropriated alms. Divine service had ceased and the chapel was poorly provided. There were no brothers or sisters in the Hospital and the distinctive dress had been abandoned. Evidently an attempt was made to reconstitute the Order in London for in 1424 the brothers and sisters were associated with the Master in sending a proctor to seek alms at Oxford. The house at last became a sinecure, and in 1454 the Hospital was let to farm and thereafter was in lay hands,

¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1327-1330, pp. 446, 551; 1330-1334, pp. 107, 179, 541; 1334-1338, p. 344; 1340-1343, p. 72; *C.P.R. Petitions*, i, 423.

² *Gild Cert.*, 202.

³ *C.P.R.*

⁴ *V.C.H., London. Dugdale. Ut supra.*

though still a Hospital for the insane. It has come down to modern times as the Royal Bethlehem Hospital and has given to our language the word "bedlam."

Egerton Beck assigned the foundation of their Scottish house at S. Germain's to 1247, when the Bishop of Bethlehem was in Scotland, and later refused to alter his opinion in the face of evidence provided by Dr. Wallace-James. The lands of S. Germain's extended to a carrucate and lay on the northern boundary of the Tranent estate of the de Quencys, adjoining Seton. This foundation preceded London.

Local landowners had direct contacts with France and even with Palestine. At the opening of the twelfth century Thor, its owner, had a brother, Leswin, taken prisoner while on Crusade.¹ The *Chronicle of Melrose* records that Alexander de Seton was in Palestine in 1270 and lost his squire, Nicholas, as a prisoner. Robert de Quency sailed for the Holy Land in 1191 on the strength of money borrowed from Aaron, the Jew of Lincoln, and was there under Richard Coeur de Lion till the Spring of 1193. He died about 1197 and ten years later his widow Hawisa granted the brethren of the Holy House of the Hospital of Jerusalem in England five marks of silver annually during her lifetime for the soul of her late husband, until she should provide them with the same rent in a fixed place. In return the Friars were to sustain a chaplain celebrating mass for the defunct as long as the money should be paid. In December, 1218, Saher de Quency was fitting out a ship at Kirkcudbright to carry his Scottish vassals to Bristol on a further Crusade. Next Spring he sailed with his son Robert for Damietta, at the siege of which he died.² There were thus abundant direct connections with the Holy Land. It is suggested that S. Germain's was a memorial to her crusading husband by Robert de Quency's widow. Dedications to S. Germain are scarce in Scotland, but the Saint would have an appeal to the de Quencys because of his connection with Winchester, of which they held the earldom. Curiously enough, Humbertus de Sancto Germano was a donor to the Bethlehemites at Clamecy in their foundation charter there.

Between 1198 and 1202 Robert de Sancto Germano³ witnessed a charter relating to the Lothian churches belonging to Durham. He also appeared⁴ as an ambassador sent to England in 1215. On 7th June, 1218, Honorius III, at the request of the King of France, wrote to the Scottish Bishops declaring his pardon to Robert de S. Germano, cleric, for rebellion

¹ *Raine. N. Durham App.*, p. 38, No. clxi.

² *Bain. Cal. Doc. re Scot. passim.*

³ *Raine. N. Durham. App.* 92.

⁴ *Bain. Cal. Doc. re Scotland*, i, 629.

against the King, and in 1219,¹ he was granted a safe conduct to return through England. His connection is dubious, but between 1211 and 1213, Radulf, Prior of S. Germain, witnessed a charter of de Quency along with Milo Cornet.² Milo Cornet³ between 1208 and 1214 witnessed a charter relating to Stobo and also between 1190 and 1238 a charter of Peter de Grame to Soutra. In 1222, described as Prior of S. Germain,⁴ he witnessed a cyrograph between Roger de Quency and Holyrood. He last appears as witness to a Newbattle charter dated after 1234.⁵ The house is thus of early foundation, preceding London. While certainly not earlier than 1197, it cannot be later than 1213, but not until 1266⁶ is there any reference to a British house of the Order in any of its bulls when there appears :—

“ *In Scocia ;*

In diocesi S. Andreae Ecclesiam S. Germani.

In Londenis oratoria novem Bethlehem.”

Meantime it had been visited by the Bishop in 1247 when he was legate in Scotland. Dr. Wallace-James noted with hesitation the name of Friar John de Sancto Germano, the bearer of a letter from King Alexander to Edward I in 1284, but this friar was Prior of the Perth Dominicans and is so described in a letter from the Bishops of S. Andrews and Glasgow to Edward on 29th March, 1286.⁷

In Bagimont's Roll⁸ the Friars of S. Germain paid 40/-, a sum considerably larger than that paid by the parsons of many neighbouring parishes, and thus indicating the receipt of considerable endowments. In the Valor Verus the Domus Dei de Sancto Germano was valued at £3 6s. 8d. and the tenth at 6s. 8d. In 1291, the Pope⁹ granted a relaxation of one year and forty days penance to those who should visit the Church of S. Germain, Tranent, on the four feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in their octaves, the anniversary of the dedication, and the feast of the patron. Bartholomew,¹⁰ Master of the house of S. Germain, on 28th August, 1296, appeared at Berwick, and did homage to King Edward for lands in Kin-

¹ *Bain*, i, 717.

² *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, p. 90.

³ *Registrum Glasguense*, i, p. 89. *Charters of Collegiate Churches of Midlothian*, p. 11.

⁴ *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, 49.

⁵ *Registrum S. Marie de Neubottle*, p. 19.

⁶ *P.S.A. Scot.*, xlv, p. 376.

⁷ *Stevenson, Hist. Doc. re Scotland*, i, p. 5.

⁸ *S.H.S. Misc.*, vi., p. 58.

⁹ *C.P.R. Letters*, i, 538.

¹⁰ *Rotuli Scotiae*, i, p. 25.

cardineshire and Aberdeenshire. This is almost the first indication of the endowments. Between 1266 and 1290 Edward de Albo Fonte¹ had granted Soultra the land of Quhitwel and also the land of Bothoclyd which he held from S. Germain's subject to an annual payment of four pence.

S. Germain's functioned as a remote cell of the Cathedral Priory of Bethlehem. In character, it was a Hospital, though for what specific purpose or to what extent, is unknown. At Dublin the Crutched Friar Hospital of S. John Baptist accommodated 150 patients and was a general hospital. The London Hospital existed for the care of lunatics, but on a smaller scale. One slight indication in the case of S. Germain's is in the lines of Sir David Lindsay that men ran

“ To Sanct Germain to get remeid
For maladies into their heid.”

The declining status of the Bishop and the distance between Clamecy and S. Germain's rendered difficult the control of this outlying house, though contact was much closer and more lasting than with the London house. In September, 1332, the Bishop petitioned the Pope² for support in his efforts to maintain the position of his See. In turn the Pope wrote to David II exhorting him to secure payment to the Bishop of the sums due to him from Scotland.

Not till the end of the century do any of the occupants emerge. John Rollock³ in 1373, and later years, was described as Master of S. Germain's and Clerk of the Wardrobe to the Queen. On 28th August, 1403, Benedict XIII, the Antipope, issued from Avignon two bulls addressed to the Bishop of S. Andrews. John Rollock,⁴ Master of the house of the Crutched Friars with the Star, of S. Germain's, was unable to rule the house because of age and infirmity, and desired permission to resign. His resignation was to be accepted and one of the Friars of the Order was to be admitted to rule of the house. It is noted that the matter is referred to the Bishop of S. Andrews because of lack of information regarding the house. It is uncertain whether these bulls took effect, as the Hospital is later described as vacant, not by the resignation, but by the death of John Rollock. By this time the right of nomination to the London Hospital had slipped from the Bishop's hands, but at S. Germain's he retained the advowson and his full rights.

Apparently it had come into the hands of Roger de Edinburgh, an illegitimate scion of Scottish royalty. In 1394 he was granted a canonry

¹ *Charters of Collegiate Churches of Midlothian*, p. 29.

² *C.P.R. Letters*, ii, 504.

³ *Exchequer Rolls*, ii, and iii, *passim*.

⁴ *Vatican Transcripts*. G.R.H.

of Rouen and in 1403 he petitioned successfully for a benefice in the gift of the Bishop and Chapter of Aberdeen. His claim to S. Germain apparently derived from the gift of a Pope,¹ possibly Gregory XII. But Henry de Ramsay was already in possession by authority of the Bishop of Bethlehem and later by a papal confirmation. In addition, Richard de Mariton² was unsuccessfully petitioning. In 1410 the Duke of Albany, "on behalf of Richard de Mariton, Canon of Scone, petitioned for the Hospital of S. Germain, value £50 old sterling, wont to be given by the Bishop of Bethlehem to clerks bearing the red cross, void by reason that Roger de Edinburgh is a notorious schismatic, notwithstanding that Henry de Ramsay unlawfully holds it."

Next year there came before Benedict a counter petition from Ramsay³ who is described as "of noble birth, Master and Rector of the Augustinian Hospital of S. Germain of the Star of Bethlehem." He claimed that "whereas the said Hospital, then void by reason of the death of John Rollock, Papal Chaplain, and given to him first by authority of the Ordinary and then by papal authority on the deprivation of Roger de Edinburgh, a schismatic, and whereas Richard de Mariton, by virtue of a surreptitious grant, obtained by false statement, is maliciously litigating about the same before Thomas de Karnis, Official of S. Andrews, the Pope is prayed to committ the cause to John Garsie, papal auditor, so that the Hospital, whose annual value is £54, may be given to the said Henty." Ramsay was successful, for he died in 1418 in possession of the Hospital. On 8th August, 1418, Robert de Mirtoun,⁴ priest of S. Andrews diocese, petitioned that the Pope would present him to the Priory or Hospital of S. Germain, Order of Bethlehem, of the said diocese, to which are annexed two parish churches (all the fruits, 80 marks of old sterling) void by the death of Henry Ramsay . . . notwithstanding the intrusion of a certain Richard de Mariton, Canon of Scone, who has detained it unjustly for four months or thereabouts." Evidently Mariton was making a second attempt at securing the benefice. Robert de Mirtoun⁵ had been Procurator of the Scottish Nation at Orleans in 1407. A further petition came on 2nd June, 1419, from the Earl of Crawford, supplicating for his secretary, John Fleming, B.Dec.,⁶ notwithstanding that Richard de Mariton had intruded himself into the benefice.

But the Bishop of Bethlehem had already made presentation to Richard Langlands⁷ and on 10th July, 1419, he, too, petitioned the Pope, alleging the nomination of John Marchant, Bishop of Bethlehem. The

¹ *C.P.R. Petitions*, i, 620. ² *Ibid.*, 639. ³ *Ibid.*, i, 599.

⁴ *Scottish Supplications to Rome*, p. 13.

⁵ *S.H.S. Misc.*, ii, 72, 101.

⁶ *Scottish Supplications to Rome*, p. 65. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

event shows that he was the successful competitor, although Richard de Mariton pleaded a presentation by an Apostolic Legate of Pope Martin V.

Langlands died in 1434 and a fresh dispute arose for the Hospital between Patrick Pyot and Archibald Lawrence. Lawrence¹ had been a licentiate at S. Andrews in 1428, and was incorporated in the Council of Basel² on 5th March, 1434. The decision of Dominic, Bishop of Bethlehem, was in favour of Pyot, but he went on to fortify his case by an appeal to the Pope.³ Eugenius IV committed the case to John, Bishop Elect of Leon, Papal Auditor. While the case was pending Pyot resigned his rights to the Pope, who in turn ordered the Auditor to surrogate the Bishop and to make collation and provision to him of Patrick Pyot's rights, and to grant him the Hospital to hold *in commendam* for his life. Lawrence took legal steps to prevent the publication of the mandate but the Auditor, by a definitive sentence, declared the mandate to be canonical. He granted the Hospital *in commendam* to the Bishop of Bethlehem, condemning Lawrence to pay costs of 22 gold florins of the Camera and imposing perpetual silence on him on 15th January, 1435. On 23rd May, the Bishop⁴ by his proctor, Henry Rhynde, Canon of Caithness, resigned his claim to the Hospital, the sentence not having been executed. Clearly a deal had been made. The Pope then issued two mandates to the Official of Brechin⁵ in favour of Patrick Pyot. By the one he ordained that Pyot should be received as a canon and brother of the Hospital and that the Official should receive his regular profession; by the other, that after this had been done, he should receive collation. Yet Archibald Lawrence still maintained his claim. He secured an injunction⁶ on the execution of the mandate and the case again returned to Rome where it was decided in favour of Pyot. On 5th November, 1437, Eugenius IV⁷ issued a mandate finally deciding the case against Lawrence and in favour of Pyot, and invoking the civil power and secular arm against Lawrence should the need arise.

From all this it is plain that the distinctive character of the Order had long vanished and that S. Germain's had now become no more than a prize for an ecclesiastic careerist, whatever formalities remained. The link with Clamecy, so tenuous, and yet so long maintained, was now at an end, and it would appear that this final contact was for no higher purpose than the raising of a fee on presentation. It had now come into the circle of the Pyots, an Aberdeenshire family, and until its tenure was to be associated with them. Patrick Pyot's term of office was lengthy. In 1466 as

¹ *S.H.S. Early Records of University of St. Andrews*, p. 10.

² *Copiale Prioratus Sancti Andree*.

³ *C.P.R. Letters*, viii, 488, 489.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii, 567.

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii, 566, 567.

⁶ *Ibid.*, viii, 638.

⁷ *Ibid.*, viii, 638.

Friar Patrick Pyot,¹ Master of the Hospital of S. Germain, he gave sasine of certain burgh tenements in Crail, acting through his brother William. In 1475 he was still claiming the Hospital.

Among the possessions of S. Germain's was the Church of Aberluchnott in Mearns, better known today as Marykirk. On 26th February, 1470, Alexander Pyot,² priest of the diocese of Dunkeld, petitioned for the benefice there. He stated that it belonged to the Hospital of S. Germain and was in the presentation of its Master. It had now been void so long that by the Lateran Statutes it had lapsed to the Apostolic See. He petitioned for the vicarage, alleging that John Couk, without any canonical title, had intruded himself for between 6 and 8 years. He petitioned to be received as a brother of the Hospital of S. Germain and inducted to the vicarage. The Abbots of Arbroath, Scone, and Cupar were authorised to hear the case, to summon John Couk, and if they found that the vicarage, which was worth less than £8 annually, was vacant, they were to collate and assign it to Alexander Pyot, after he had taken the habit and made his profession. Any other benefices he had were to be resigned.

But another claimant was at hand. John de Camera,³ priest of S. Andrews diocese, informed Paul II that Patrick Pyot, Rector, called Master of the Church of S. Germain, had dilapidated the moveables. At S. Germain's the "*Cruciferi cum Stella*" had kept a Hospital for the poor served by several of the Friars. Pyot had maintained no hospitality. The church had been profaned and had been turned into a dwelling house in which a family was living. Divine service had totally ceased. John de Camera promised to expel the lay occupants, to have the church reconciled, to maintain two chaplains in it for divine service and four poor men. The Abbot of Newbattle and the Provosts of S. Giles and of Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, were authorised to hear the case and, should they find the charges proven, to depose Patrick Pyot, to admit John de Camera to the Order and assign to him the Church of S. Germain with its annexes of Aberluchnot and Glenmycht, having a total yearly value of less than £30. This bull was published on 7th December, 1470, and on 19th January, 1471, John de Camera,⁴ this time described more correctly as a priest of Aberdeen diocese, paid annates for the Magistracy of S. Germain's, void by the deprivation of Patrick Pyot. In the Dun Charter Chest⁵ is a discharge of 31st July, 1474, in which, as Master of S. Germain's and parson of Aberluchnot, he dealt with the teinds of the Parish.

¹ *S.H.R.*, ix, 223.

² *C.P.R. Letters*, xii, 337. ³ *Ibid.*, xii, 356.

⁴ *Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices*, p. 165.

⁵ *Spalding Misc.*, iv, p. 9.

Yet in the Antiquities of Aberdeen¹ (Spalding Club) is a feu of Donebankis issued in 1475 by Patrick Pyot, "*Magister Domus Sancti Germani Ordinis Sancti Augustini Iherosolamitani Cruciferorum cum Stella.*" In point of fact, the spoils were being shared by a friendly arrangement. On 2nd August, 1475, Master John of Chawmer,² pensioner of S. Germain's, constituted John Erskine of Dun, his procurator, to receive for him and for Sir Patrick Pyot 46 marks for the teind sheaves of Bervys and Ecclesmaldeis in the parish of Aberluchnot. Incidentally these figures show that he had very considerably underestimated the revenues in his petition. On 22nd December, 1475, there was a further judicious underestimate when he received a pair of bulls³ anent his annual pension, or in its place, the garbal teinds of these lands, this time valued at £9 sterling. Evidently the long tenure of Patrick Pyot ended in the summer of 1477 for on 10th October, James Doles,⁴ the Minister of Failford, acting as his procurator, obliged John de Camera for the annates of S. Germain's (£40 sterling) with its annexes. Soon after a kinsman lodged his claim to the benefice. Thomas Pyot,⁵ priest of S. Andrews diocese, paid annates on 23rd April, 1478, for the Mastership of S. Germain's (£40 sterling) with its annexes. It was noted that another claimant was at hand, but on 26th November, 1485, Thomas Pyot paid 50 florins as annates and further payments were made on 18th January, 1486,⁶ and 1st June, 1487. As in the case of Patrick Pyot a compromise must have been made, for both men appear in deeds relating to the house. Thomas Pyot, styled Preceptor of the Star of Bethlehem, is named in 1490 in the Crail writs,⁷ but John de Camera still held his place.

In the circumstances, the assets of the Hospital might have been frittered away, but envious and practical eyes were being cast upon the misused endowments of a number of such houses at the close of the fifteenth century. Four miles from S. Germain's was the ancestral home of William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, and he had marked it as a possible source of endowment for his new college.

On 10th February, 1495, Pope Alexander VI⁸ issued the bulls for the erection of a *studium generale* at Aberdeen and on 9th February, 1497, a fortnight before Bishop Elphinstone published these bulls, a further one was issued for the annexation of the Hospital of S. Germain's⁹ for the support of the new University. The resources of the Hospital were stated

¹ *Antiquities of Aberdeen*, iii, p. 584.

² *Spalding Misc.*, iv, p. 10.

³ *Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices*, p. 181.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 189. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 192. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁷ *S.H.R.*, ix, p. 223.

⁸ *Fasti Aberdonenses (Spalding Club)*, p. 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

to have been dissipated by the improvidence of the Masters and by litigation, so that there had been no hospital service within memory, while the church was ruinous. Its revenues, amounting to £30 sterling, were therefore annexed to the University on the resignation of Thomas Pyot in favour of the Chancellor of the University. They were to be used for the support of teachers in the University, subject to the maintenance of one Friar of the Order and three poor persons at S. Germain's and three more poor in Aberdeen. James, Postulate of S. Andrews,¹ gave his consent at 3 p.m. on 28th August, 1497, and Thomas Pyot resigned the Hospital by an instrument dated 9th August, 1497, at the Bishop's house in Edinburgh, in exchange for the prebend of Cruden and the vicarage of Banff.

The University thus acquired, among other assets, the teinds of Aberluthnot, Glenmuick and Abergerny, and the few rents of the Hospital north of the Forth. The Chaplain at S. Germain's was to have the grounds of the Hospital for the maintenance of the buildings, of his pensioners, and of himself. The right of his nomination was to lie with the University. Yet the surrender of the endowments was not complete until 16th February, 1505, when Bishop Elphinstone bought out the rights of Master John de Camera² for an annual rent of 50 marks. £20 of this was to come from the church of Fethirneir and the remainder from the chaplaincy of S. Mary Magdalene in S. Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen. The Bishop was now free to assign the revenues of S. Germain's and did so³ on 17th September, 1505. The Principal, or Master in Theology, was to receive 40 marks annually, the Doctor of Pontifical Law 30 marks, and the Doctor of Civil Law the same sum out of the teinds of Glenmuick, Abergerny and Slanis, all previous possessions of S. Germain's, with the exception of Slanis. Abergerny is the parish now known as Glengirn, united with Glenmuick in the sixteenth century. Confirmation⁴ was issued by Julius II on 18th April, 1506. The endowments had consistently been underestimated in litigation.

Hector Boece⁵ presented an instrument of intimation of the Hospital of S. Germain's and the Church of Aberluthnot in a Synod on 25th April, 1525. Parliament,⁶ on 28th June, 1617, confirmed the University's rights in S. Germain's, but extended them to all Scotland, as against the previous limitation to north of the Forth, but anything of value south of the Forth had already been alienated, so the addition meant little more than a feu duty in Leith. In the University's Rental to Whitsun 1638 of the former endowments of S. Germain's, 2/- feu duty was still paid from Dunbanks,

¹ *Fasti Aberdonenses* (*Spalding Club*), p. 50. ² *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 53. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 64. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 140. *Acta. Parl. Scot.*, iv, 576.

4/- from Finlayson's house in Leith, though from S. Germain's itself and from Broune's house in Leith nothing was paid. Aberluthnot on the other hand yielded £247 2s. 4d. while Glenmuick and Glengairn yielded £97. The S. Germain's tenements in Crail paid nothing, but these and other losses south of the Forth were duly entered in the University accounts for a couple of centuries.

At Marischall College in the afternoon of 24th May, 1676, at a review of the University finances,¹ there was a query as to the mortifications. "It is answered, that the whole old mortifications are contained in the first foundation and in the rental books: they are especially the Hospital of S. Germain's, comprehending the teinds of Aberluthnot pariochin in the Mearns, Glenmuick, and Glengarne pariochins in Marr, with some other small feus and annuities mentioned in the rental." Thus, when properly administered and applied, the endowments of S. Germain's proved of considerable value. They are in two groups; firstly, the lands of S. Germain's itself, extending to a carrucate, and a few small feu duties in the south, 14/- from the lands of Lochhouse near Linlithgow, 4/- in feu duties from property in the Rattonrow of Leith, 4 pence from Bothoclyd, an acre at Inverteil in Fife, and a small piece of land at Braidles in Fife; secondly, there was the northern group of endowments, the teinds of Aberluthnot, Glenmuick, and Glengarne, as well as 4 roods at Knitore, 2/- from Dunbanks, and 14/- from the lands of Kinblathmont near Forfar. All seem to date from the early years of the Hospital. It is evident that the small sums and pieces of land must have been the pious gifts of comparatively poor men. On the other hand S. Germain's itself was a baronial grant and the three parish churches in the north must have come from a similar quarter and no doubt from one donor. North of Forfar, where they held the Castle, the de Quencys had no holdings, and the original donor of the northern endowments has still to be identified.

The Chaplains appointed at S. Germain's may be traced in their alienation of the endowments. On 2nd April, 1541, Peter Hutcheson, Chaplain of S. Germain's of the Star of Bethlehem with consent of the Chancellor of Aberdeen University, transferred S. Germain's to Mr. Henry Lauder, advocate, and his wife in conjunct infeftment. On 23rd June, 1547, he transferred to them the ruinous house next the Chapel on its west side with two gardens. Prior to this it had been let to Archibald Seton. From his new estate Lauder took his juridical title of Lord S. Germain's. On 29th September, 1577, Alexander Moresone,² Chaplain or Preceptor of S. Germain's, yielded the lands to George Douglas, younger of Borg, and his

¹ *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. 349.

² *R.M.S.*, 1546-1580, 2744.

wife. Moresone's successor, John Symson,¹ on 8th February, 1586, ceded them in conjunct infeftment to William Littel of Edinburgh and his wife, subject to an annual payment of £9 6s. 8d. to the Chaplain. These Chaplains now figure only in the records for the purpose of making up titles. William Littel and his wife had a crown charter of confirmation² of the lands on 25th July, 1598, reserving the life rent of John Symson, the Chaplain and, after his death, commuting it to the ancient feufirme plus 6/8 to the King, for augmentation. On 14th December, 1599, the lands were sold to Robert, Lord Seton.³ After being for a short time in the hands of Alexander Seton, later Earl of Eglinton, they were bestowed upon John Seton, whose family held them until 11th January, 1718, when George Seton left the estate to his three sisters. Later in the century Lady Carmichael sold it to Anderson, the Secretary of Warren Hastings, from whose family it passed to the Tennants.

The Orders of Friars who came to Europe with the returning Crusaders founded many such Hospitals, and their later abuse and decline is still without full and satisfactory explanation. In time they became sinecures, until their endowments were transferred elsewhere, either by legal process or by religious revolution. S. Germain, which for so long had been an enclave of the Bishopric of Bethlehem in Scotland, reverted without legal formality to become again a part of the diocese of S. Andrews.

¹ *R.M.S.*, 1580-1593, 915. ² *Ibid.*, 1593-1608, 759. ³ *Ibid.*, 1593-1608, 986.

Clergy of S. Germain's.

1211. Radulf, Prior.

1222. Milo Cornet.

Robert de S. Germain's.

1296. Bartholomew.

1373-1403. John Rollock.

Roger de Edinburgh, 1405-1410 ?

Richard de Mariton, 1410,

intruded May 1418.

Robert de Mirtoun, 1418.

John Fleming, 1419

1419-1434. Richard Langlands.

Archibald Lawrence, 1435.

1434-1477. Patrick Pyot.

1470-1505. John de Camera.

1485- Thomas Pyot.

*Chaplains.*1541-1547. D. Peter Hutchison, Vicar of Tullynestle (*Historical Manuscripts Commission, 14th Report, Appendix iii., 233*).

1577. Alexander Moresone.

1586-1598. John Symson.

Endowments.

A carrucate at S. Germain's.

The parish churches of Aberluthnot, Glenmuick, and Glengairn.

1 acre at Inverteil in Fife. (*R.M.S. 1615*).Land at Braidles in Fife. (*R.M.S. 1600*).4 roods at Kintore. (*Acts of Lords in Council, 1498*).14/- from Lochhouse. (*R.M.S. 1565*).14/- from Kinblathmont. (*R.M.S. 1507, 1585*).4/- from Leith. (*R.M.S. 1599. Acts of Lords in Council, 1483*).4 pence from Bothoclyd. (*Charters of Midlothian Churches, 1483*).2/- from Donebanks. (*Spalding Miscellany, Vol. iii.*)

ADDENDUM TO PART I.

Chancery proceedings relating to some Crutched Friars of Exeter are recorded in *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, vi, 90. Lt.-Col. H. F. Chettle records a house of Cruciferi at Winchelsea and the possibility of one near Marlborough. Baneti, recorded by Russelius (*Records*, Vol. x, Pt. 11, p. 106) may be an error for the Carmelite house at Banff.